

History and Government of New York

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A Supplement to

ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

FOURTH AVENUE AND 30TH STREET, NEW YORK

PRAIRIE AVENUE AND 25TH STREET, CHICAGO

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OCT 10 1918

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no 1

Q. 7. N. Oct. 15, 18.

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THE PEOPLE OF THE LONG HOUSE

The Coming of the Iroquois. Before European adventurers had reached the shores of America the territory now included within the boundaries of the state of New York was gradually being occupied by a powerful race of Indians known as the Iroquois. It is not possible to state definitely the origin of these Indians. The more probable theory is that they originally lived in the region centering at the mouth of the Ohio River and from there gradually worked their way in a northeasterly direction, following the course of this river. Another theory is that they were of western origin, possibly an offshoot of the great Sioux or Dacotah Nation, and as early as the thirteenth century had begun to migrate eastward. During either of these migratory movements, which continued nearly three centuries, they separated into little groups which were widely scattered throughout the territory east of the Mississippi. The Cherokees of Georgia and Tennessee, the Tuscaroras of Carolina, and the Hurons of Ontario all belonged to the Iroquois family. Some of the Hurons settled in the vicinity of Niagara and others in the valley of the St. Lawrence. Here they came in contact with another great race of Indians, called the Algonquins, who occupied the greater part of eastern North America. From these two settlements in lower Canada they migrated again, this time into the warmer climate of central New York.

Here they found a permanent home and were gradually organized into five distinct tribes or nations known as the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. The Mohawks, driven from their territory in the vicinity of Montreal and Quebec, came into the valley of the river which bears their name. The Senecas, moving gradually from the highlands of southwestern New York, occupied the fertile plains



of the Genesee. Even before this time it is probable that the Oneidas, the Onondagas, and the Cayugas had established themselves in the hill country surrounding the "finger" lakes of central New York.

The names given to these tribes are in part the English equivalents of Indian words; and the localities in which they lived are still indicated by the rivers and lakes which bear their names. The tribes, as a whole, were called by the French "the Iroquois," by the English "the Five Nations," but the Iroquois,

proud of the fair country which they controlled, called themselves "The People of the Long House."

As they grew in numbers and in power they seized the hunting grounds of the Algonquin tribes within the state and either drove these weaker Indians out of this territory or forced them to become their vassals. The Mohegans of the Hudson valley, the Adirondacks of northeastern New York, and the Eries in the west soon felt their power. Their form of political organization aided them in their conquests, for the five tribes, already bound together by ties of kinship, soon found it necessary to unite for purposes of common defense and aggression.

About the middle of the sixteenth century they formed a rude republic which has since been called the League of the Iroquois. It is interesting to note that, more than fifty years before any permanent English settlements were made in the New World and two hundred years before the United States was established, these people, whom we regard as savages, had in actual operation a democratic federation in which both men and women shared.

Their Political System. This League of the Iroquois was not closely knit together. It was rather a confederation of independent tribes or nations. It had a governing body, which consisted of a council of fifty men selected from the five nations in the League. These men were called sachems, and in the great council determined matters relating to the welfare of the League, but as all action required a unanimous vote it was seldom possible to reach a common decision. So it was that each tribe often acted independently of the others. At the time of the American Revolution most of the Oneidas, under the leadership of their great chief Skenendoah, aided the cause of the colonies, while the rest of the Iroquois remained loyal to the British.

The sachemships were not distributed equally, for the Onondagas, one of the smaller nations, had fourteen, while the Senecas, who were the most numerous, had only eight. The sachems not only acted together as a central law-making body, but, as

individuals, ruled the nation to which each belonged. They were assisted in these tribal duties by chiefs chosen from among the members of the nation who had won honor in war or at the council fire. When matters affecting the confederation as a whole arose, runners summoned the chiefs and the sachems to a grand council which met usually at the castle or village of the Onondagas. Thus it will be seen that this primitive system was not unlike our own federal government in which there is a centralized general authority supported by sovereign states.

Life and Occupations of the Iroquois. When the white man first came in contact with the Iroquois he found them living in villages in which the houses were built of logs or of bark. The



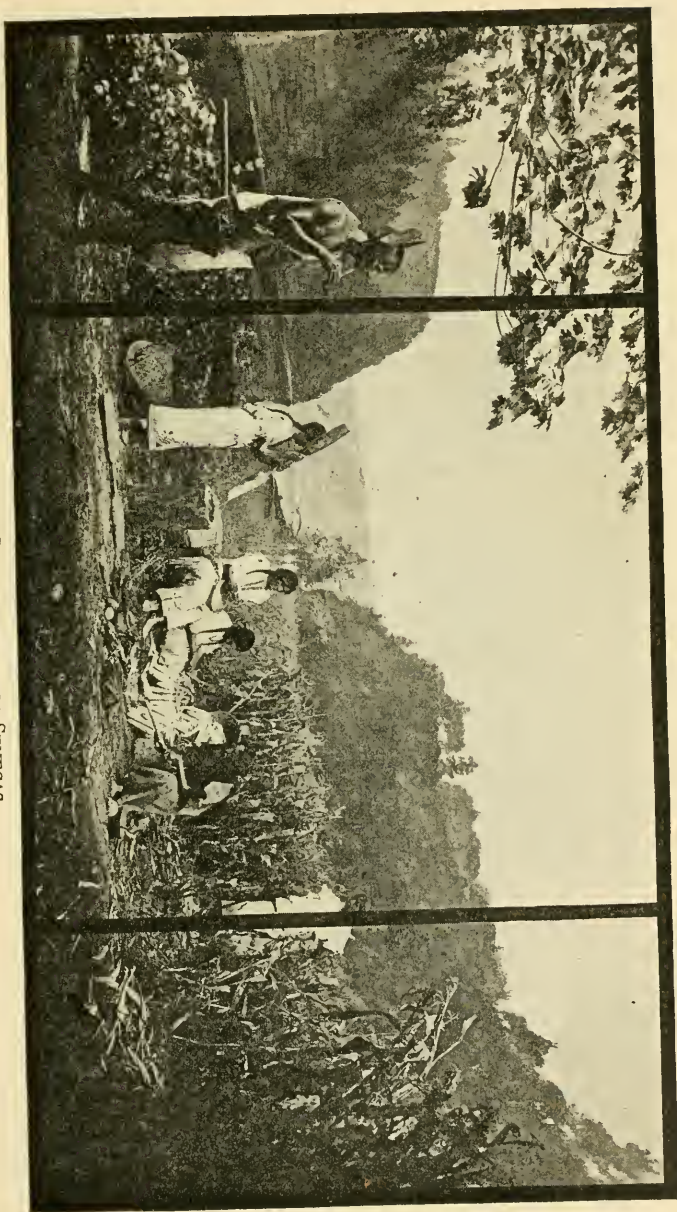
A WAMPUM BELT, USED BY THE INDIANS FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES: FOR CON-
DOLENCES, FOR TREATIES, FOR FORMAL MESSAGES, ETC.

villages were usually situated on high ground overlooking the surrounding country and were inclosed by a palisade of logs so that they could be defended. Here they made their winter homes, but in the summer time hunting and fishing parties would come down from these hill villages and camp beside the lakes and rivers of the valley.

The Iroquois had learned the art of agriculture and raised a sufficient amount of maize, beans, and tobacco to supply the needs of each village. They had acquired considerable skill in fashioning implements of flint and of stone for use in war and in hunting. Longfellow, in his beautiful poem *Hiawatha*, the legend of an Onondaga chief, tells of the building of their graceful birch-bark canoes. Their pottery was made of clay and was usually adorned with a simple geometric design. The women used needles made from bone and knew how to tan leather and to weave baskets. After the white man came they obtained

(From the New York State Museum.)

A HARVEST SCENE AMONG THE SENECA



iron tools and with these often carved bone and wooden ornaments. With these iron tools they also wrought in brass and copper and to a slight degree in silver. In this respect they were far in advance of the surrounding peoples. Most of the domestic work was done by the women and children, while the men engaged in war or in hunting and trapping.

Sources of their Strength. The Iroquois were never a numerous people. At the height of their power they probably numbered less than twenty-five thousand. But they were alert and vigorous and had progressed farther toward a civilized state than the people whom they subdued. In addition, they held what Fiske has called the most important military position in eastern North America. They called this territory their Long House — a name which is also applied to the houses in which they lived. From the eastern door of the Long House on the Hudson, their land extended to the Niagara frontier, which was the western gateway. Along the water routes and the Indian trails that interlace this territory, the bronzed warriors of this famous federation traveled swiftly and struck relentlessly. They were known and feared from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and levied tribute upon a vast empire. War bands of the League were seen on the distant shores of Lake Superior and on the Tennessee. In 1607 Captain John Smith met a party of the Iroquois in their canoes on the waters of Chesapeake Bay, and in 1681 they attacked the fort which La Salle had built for the Illinois on the shores of the Mississippi.

Their Later History. After the Dutch had founded the colony of New Netherland, the Iroquois lived on terms of friendship with them and their English successors, but with the French in Canada they were constantly at war. The causes of that antagonism will be told in another chapter, but it is well to note here that the Iroquois held, for more than a century, the frontiers of New York against the encroachments of the French, who were eager to gain a foothold in all the territory drained by the St. Lawrence River system.

In 1715 the Tuscaroras, a southern tribe of Iroquois stock, were driven from the Carolinas and sought a refuge among their kinsmen of the north. They were admitted to the League and given a portion of the lands held by the Oneidas. From that time the Iroquois were known as "The Six Nations."

It would be interesting to study in detail the history of these remarkable people, for in it may be traced within the space of a few centuries the rapid progress from savagery to semi-civilization of a brave and vigorous race, but the rest of their story is so linked with that of European colonization that it may well be followed in an account of that period. We do not need to go to Greece or to the valley of the Nile to learn about prehistoric life, for our forefathers met and talked with men of the Stone Age in the valleys of the Mohawk and the Genesee.

Uninfluenced by European ideas, they had achieved for themselves a stable and an effective form of government which they wisely administered and courageously defended. They had developed some of the simpler arts and crafts which make for civilization and they had extended their influence over half a continent. But they were destined to yield to a higher civilization, and with the coming of the white man their power slowly but surely declined. In the passing of a great race before the steady advance of another and a stronger one these primitive peoples simply repeated the history of mankind in its progressive growth.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Describe the coming of the Iroquois.
2. What would have been the probable effect on the history of New York if the French had succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Iroquois?
3. Imagine yourself an Indian boy: tell the story of your home life and occupations.
4. Draw a map showing the territory occupied by each tribe of the Five Nations.

5. In what ways was the system of government of the Iroquois league like or unlike our own federal government?
6. What were the sources of strength of the Iroquois?

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EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

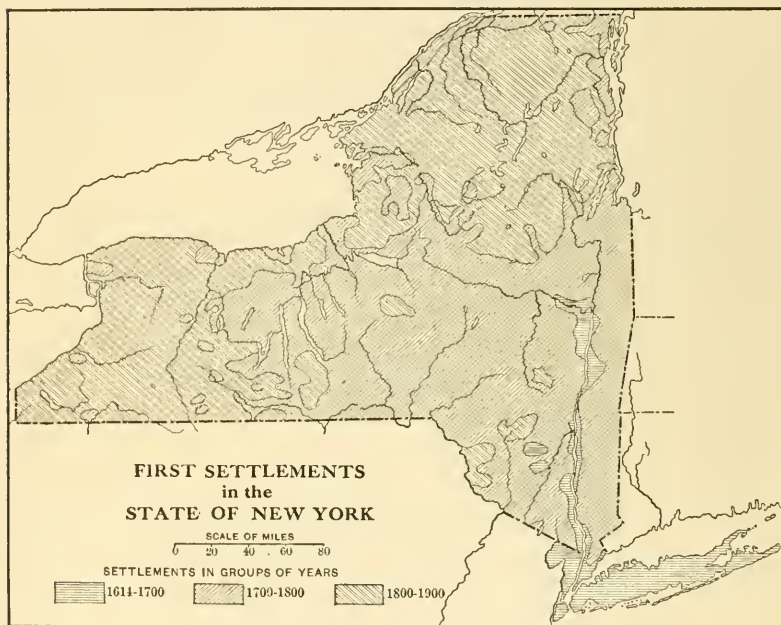
The Coming of the White Man. The sixteenth century was a period of awakening for Europe. The printing of books and the revival of learning stirred men's minds. Old trade routes to Asia had been shut off and commerce looked toward the west for other routes. New inventions made the task of the navigators simpler, and sailors of all nations boldly set forth upon unknown seas. It was a brave and adventurous age and none were braver than the men who searched the shores of a new world for a passage to the Indies.

The French in New York. Among these was Verazzano, an Italian explorer in the employ of France. He was the first European of whom there is authentic record as the discoverer of New York. But he seemed to be content to view only the bay into which the Hudson flows and so sailed away to France without realizing that the river whose mouth he had entered was the gateway to a continent. It is possible that French and Portuguese traders also knew of this river, but they left no trace of their visits.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the King of France determined to establish a French colony in the northern part of America. Cartier, by his exploration of the St. Lawrence River in 1535, had laid the foundation for French claim to this territory, and the man chosen to make this claim secure was Samuel de Champlain. He was a bold and self-reliant man who had already won renown in the service of his country. In 1605 he established a colony at Port Royal, Nova Scotia, and three years later he founded the city of Quebec. He made friends with the Algonquin Indians, who inhabited this section, and was easily persuaded to join one of their war parties in an expedition against the Mohawks, their ancient enemy.

Starting from Quebec, Champlain, with two French companions and a small band of Indians, paddled up the St. Law-

rence to the Richelieu River. Here they were joined by some Huron allies and commenced their invasion of the Iroquois territory. They passed through the Richelieu into a great lake which until that time no white man had looked upon. Champlain describes it as a "large lake filled with beautiful islands and with a fine country surrounding it." In honor of its discoverer this lake is to-day fittingly called Lake Champlain.



The little band paddled southward over its broad waters until, at a point near the present village of Ticonderoga, they met a war party of the Iroquois, and in the battle which followed Champlain and his men were victorious. The Iroquois never forgave the French for their share in this victory. It was the white man's musket, which they faced for the first time, that drove the Iroquois back.

Six years later Champlain, returning from a visit to the Huron country, crossed the eastern end of Lake Ontario, the

"Beautiful Lake" of the Indians, and landed at the mouth of the Salmon river, which the Indians called "Ga-hen-wa-go" and the French "La Famine Rivière." From here he pushed his way southward through the forests until he reached a stockaded fort of the Oneidas in the hills south of the present city of Oneida. This fort he besieged, unsuccessfully; he was wounded and forced to retreat. These two encounters of the French with the Iroquois laid the foundation for the



FATHER JOQUES PREACHING TO THE MOHAWKS ¹

hatred which these powerful Indians felt ever afterwards for the French. During the next centuries there was constant warfare between them, and after the Iroquois had obtained firearms from Dutch and English traders they were often victorious. Tracy's invasion of the Mohawk country in 1666 led to a cessation of hostilities for nearly twenty years. Then the Senecas became troublesome, and in 1687 Denonville, the Governor General of New France, with 3000 regulars and Indians—the largest force the French ever sent against the Iroquois—marched against the Senecas, burned their villages,

¹ From Parkman's "The Jesuits in North America." Copyright, 1907, by Little, Brown, & Co. Used by special permission.

destroyed their crops, and built a fort at Niagara. In retaliation a great Iroquois invasion of Canada nearly swept the French settlements out of existence.

The only bright spot in this century of cruel warfare and misery is the work of French missionaries among the people of the Long House. There are no fairer or braver pages in the history of our state than those which record the holy zeal and lofty devotion to duty shown by the Jesuit Fathers — of whom Isaac Jogues, Simon LeMoyne, and Julien Garnier are heroic examples — in their efforts to plant the cross of Christ and the lilies of France among the Indians of central New York. But these black-robed Fathers were political agents of France as well as priests of Christ, and the English governors — especially Dongan, himself a Catholic — sought to counteract their influence by sending English priests among the Iroquois.

Dutch Explorations. In the sixteenth century Spain was the most powerful nation in Europe. She held vast possessions both in the Old World and in the New. But the defeat in 1588 by the English of her great fleet — the Armada — wrested from her the control of the sea, and the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands took her choicest European possession. The northern provinces of the Netherlands united to form the Dutch Republic, or Holland. This brave little nation prospered and soon came to be a leader in commerce.

One of its chief organizations was the Dutch East India Company, which had built up a profitable trade with the East Indies. They sought, as did others, a more direct route to the Indies, and engaged Henry Hudson for the venture. He was an Englishman who had already made two daring attempts to reach the Indies by a passage across the Arctic Ocean. In a little ship called the *Half Moon*, which the Company equipped for him, he made a third attempt by the same route. Baffled by ice, he turned westward, crossed the Atlantic, and after sailing along the New England coast entered New York Bay. Remaining here a few days, he turned the prow of his little

ship northward, and sailed into the noble river which now bears his name. This he explored as far as the present city of Albany. A boat's crew which he sent further north to make soundings returned with the report that the channels were shallow and the water fresh. This convinced Hudson that there was here no sea passage to the Indies. So, with his ship laden with furs, he sailed for Holland. He stopped en route at the English port of Dartmouth, where he was detained by the King, but was allowed to send on his report to the Company.

The Dutch Traders. When the news of Hudson's discoveries had reached Holland, the Dutch were greatly elated. They had traded in furs for many years with Russia and quickly realized the importance of the rich fur-bearing region which Hudson had found. During the next ten years many Dutch traders made voyages to this new country. Among the most resolute of these were Adriaen Block and Hendrick Christiansen. Block lost one of his ships by fire and was compelled to spend the winter of 1613-1614 on Manhattan Island. The log huts which he and his men built there were the first white men's homes on the site of the present city of New York. During the winter he also built a little vessel which he called the *Onrust* or *Restless* in which in the spring he explored Long Island Sound and the New England coast as far as Cape Cod. Other Dutch traders went south along the Jersey coast to Cape May and visited the Delaware River, which they named the South River. The Hudson was then known as the North River.

The Dutch claimed, as a result of these explorations, all the territory from Cape Cod to Cape May. Later, they narrowed their claims to the land between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers, but they were never able to hold all of this territory.

About the same time that Block was on Manhattan Island, Christiansen, wishing to establish himself nearer the heart of the fur country, built a trading post on a little island near the present city of Albany. This he surrounded by a strong stockade and named it Fort Nassau. The post was soon moved to

a better location at the mouth of the Normans Kill, a little creek two miles south of the former site. Here, in 1617, the treaty of Tawasentha was made with much ceremony between the Dutch and the Indians. The River Indians, as the Mohicans and the Delawares were called, joined with their over-lords, the proud Iroquois, in the pledging of friendly relations with the white men. The influence of this treaty was far-reaching. It was faithfully observed by both parties. It secured the



GOVERNOR MINUIT PURCHASES MANHATTAN ISLAND FROM THE INDIANS

trade and friendship of the people of the Long House and established them as a barrier against the French in Canada. Later the post at Tawasentha was abandoned and a new site was chosen within the present limits of the city of Albany. Here Fort Orange was built and in time it became the center of a thriving settlement.

These trading stations were established under the auspices of the New Netherland Company, an organization of Amsterdam merchants who had been given by the Dutch government in 1614 the first charter for trading in the new land. But this

company was interested chiefly in the fur trade, and Holland desired to establish more permanent settlements.

The West India Company. In order to accomplish this, the West India Company was chartered in 1621 and was given exclusive control of New Netherland. The first colonists were Walloons, French Protestants living in Holland. Thirty families of these resolute people came over in 1623. Some of them settled on Manhattan Island, but the majority went up the



THE FORT AT NEW AMSTERDAM, AT THE LOWER END OF MANHATTAN ISLAND,
ABOUT 1633

river to Fort Orange. Others followed and it soon became necessary to give the growing colony a stable form of government.

The Dutch Governors and Patroons. In 1626 Peter Minuit was sent over as governor, with the title of Director-General. He ruled wisely and firmly, and the colony prospered under his leadership. He purchased the island of Manhattan from the Indians. Soon a little settlement, which he called New Amsterdam, grew up on the lower end of the Island. The village was protected by a log fort and in later years by a pali-

saded wall on its northern side. Wall Street now marks the line of this palisade.

In order to encourage emigration the company gave land to any shareholder of the company who would bring over fifty settlers. These grants were known as patroon estates. The patroon was given eight miles on both sides, or sixteen miles on one side of a navigable river and as far back as he could conveniently locate. He had to purchase the land from the Indians, provide his tenants with farming equipment, and supply a minister and schoolmaster for them. In return they paid him a small rent, bound themselves to remain on the estate a certain number of years, and gave him the first right to purchase their grain, which had to be ground at his mill. It was, in fact, a form of feudalistic land tenure and later was the source of trouble between the heirs of patroon estates and their tenants. The manor house of the Van Cortlandt estate still stands in Van Cortlandt Park in the northern part of New York City.

The most prosperous of these patroon estates was established in the vicinity of Fort Orange, by Kilian van Rensselaer, a rich diamond merchant of Amsterdam. It was called Rensselaerwyck and included a large part of Albany, Columbia, and Rensselaer counties.

The six years of Minuit's governorship were marked by the growth of a peaceful trade with the Indians and by the beginnings of commerce and of farming in the colony. His successors were not so fortunate. Van Twiller was inexperienced and slow, and Kieft was crafty and hot tempered. In the latter's administration an uprising of the River Indians, for which Kieft's cruelty was largely responsible, almost swept out of existence all of the farm homes and little hamlets in the vicinity of New Amsterdam. As a result of this, Kieft was compelled to grant to the colonists a degree of self-government, by associating with him a council for the management of the affairs of the colony.

Three of the Dutch pioneers of this period deserve special recognition. One of these, Adam Roelandsen, was the first schoolmaster sent to New Amsterdam. The school which he established was continued by him and his successors, at public expense, until the colony passed into the hands of the English. Another, Megapolensis, the learned "Dominie" of Fort Orange, had the honor of being the first Protestant missionary to the Mohawks. The third, Arendt van Corlaer, in his position as superintendent of the great Van Rensselaer manor, dealt so justly with the Indians that they called him "Brother Corlaer" and used his name afterward as their title for governors of the colony. They renewed with him the treaty of Tawasentha and always kept unbroken this silver covenant chain of friendship with the Dutch. Van Corlaer also founded the first settlement in the Mohawk valley at Schenectady.

English Immigrants. The Dutch were not the only colonizers of New Netherland. The Puritan colony of Massachusetts overflowed into the Connecticut valley and firmly established little communities before the Dutch were able to settle there. From this region many Englishmen crossed to Long Island, and as a result the eastern part of the island was almost wholly colonized by the English. The first of these settlements was planted by Gardiner on an island off the eastern shore of Long Island, which he named after himself. It is interesting to note that the title of this property, based upon the original Indian grant and upon a charter issued by the English King, still remains in the Gardiner family.

From various parts of New England bands of men and women, weary of the stern rule of the Puritans, sought refuge among the kindlier Dutch. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers settled at New Rochelle, and in western Long Island the towns of Hempstead, Flushing, Gravesend, and Newtown were planted. These people brought English customs and traditions with them and were granted by Kieft a greater degree of self-government than their Dutch neighbors.

The Last of the Dutch Governors. The last of the Dutch Governors was the bluff soldier Peter Stuyvesant. He was a man of strong character, arbitrary and sometimes narrow-minded in his dealings with the colonists. This was perhaps the result of his military training. But he was just and high-minded and New Netherland thrived under his rule. Much



STUYVESANT DESTROYING THE SUMMONS TO SURRENDER NEW AMSTERDAM

of his time was occupied with disputes with Connecticut over boundary lines and with a Swedish colony which had been planted on the Delaware. He led an expedition against the latter colony, conquered it, and brought many of the Swedes back to New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant's attitude toward people of other religious faiths than his own was intolerant. He was especially severe in his treatment of the Quakers and Jews, who flocked to the

colony. The West India Company did not approve of this, for Holland had long been the refuge of those who had been persecuted elsewhere for their religious beliefs, and he was compelled to modify his policy.

New Amsterdam was by this time assuming the character of a cosmopolitan town. It was a port of entry for the sailors

of all countries. Spanish and Portuguese, English and Dutch, met and mingled on its streets. It had attained in 1653 to the dignity of a city charter granted by the home government and modeled after the charters of the cities of Holland, and by 1664 had a population of 3000.

New Netherland becomes an English Province. Its growing importance led the English to desire its possession. They had only a shadowy claim to the territory, based on the discoveries of the Cabots and other English explorers, but this did not



NEW AMSTERDAM PASSES INTO THE POSSESSION OF THE ENGLISH

deter Charles II from giving what was not rightly his to give. So he made a secret grant to his brother James, Duke of York, of all the region occupied by the Dutch. James took immediate steps to secure his gift by sending Nichols with a fleet to seize the Long Island towns and New Amsterdam. When the fleet arrived off the Connecticut shore, it was joined by soldiers from New England eager to assist in the capture of the Dutch possessions. The fort at New Amsterdam was in no condition to withstand a siege, and the inhabitants of the little

city were not unwilling to try the English rule. Stuyvesant stormed and raged, but as he saw that he would be able to offer only a feeble resistance, he sadly consented to surrender. On September 3, 1664, the town passed into the hands of the English, without the firing of a single shot. The rest of the colony quickly yielded and an English government was set up under the direction of Nichols. The name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York and that of Fort Orange to Albany. As a British province, New Netherland became New York. Aside from the alteration of these titles, the habits and customs of the colony remained practically the same.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Give an account of the visits of the French to New York in the seventeenth century.
2. Name some of the early Dutch explorers and settlers and locate on the map of New York their explorations and settlements.
3. Describe the patroon system and locate one patroon estate.
4. Which one of the Dutch governors do you like the best and why?
5. Tell of the transfer of New Netherland to the English.
6. Compare the mode of living, dress, and occupations of the Dutch in New Amsterdam with those of the people of New York City to-day.
7. What peoples settled in New York in the first century of its existence?

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A CENTURY OF ENGLISH RULE

The English Governors. For more than a century New York remained in the hands of the English, except for a short period of fourteen months when the Dutch, who were then at war with England, seized the stolen colony and held it until, by the Treaty of Westminster in 1674, it was returned to England. From 1664 until 1685 it was the private property of James Stuart, Duke of York, granted to him by his brother, Charles the Second, King of England. The governors sent over by James were his personal representatives, accountable only to him for the management of the property.

The first of these governors was Nichols, who had been in command of the fleet which had captured the little city of New Amsterdam in 1664. He seems to have been a moderate and discreet man whose desire was to deal fairly with the people in his charge. He has the honor of being one of the few colonial governors of New York who did not use his office as a means of adding to his private fortune. One of his first acts was to call a meeting of the leading men of the colony to consider the laws which the Duke of York authorized him to establish for the regulation of colonial affairs. Two delegates from each town met and accepted under protest these Duke's Laws. Their chief objection to the laws which Nichols had framed was that they centered all the authority in the governor. Under a kindly man like Nichols such centralization of power might not prove oppressive, but they foresaw its danger when used by a man of a different stamp.

Nichols was succeeded by Lovelace, whose administration was colorless, and he in turn by Andros, of whom you have read in connection with your study of New England.

Governor Andros found that his principal task, like that of his predecessors, was to bring his subjects peaceably to accept the English rule. The Dutch Republic had been in Europe the

foremost champion of liberal government, and its American colonists had much the same spirit of independence. Several of the leading citizens of New York refused to take the oath of allegiance which Andros required, but a few weeks in prison brought them to terms. Andros also found his English subjects troublesome, especially those of the Long Island towns. They were bound rather closely by ties of kinship to the people of the Connecticut valley, and many of them, as residents in New England colonies, had become accustomed to the degree of self-government which the charters of these colonies permitted.

Questions relating to the extent of his authority also arose to vex him. King Charles, with careless liberality, gave New Jersey to two of his favorites, and Penn had also obtained from him a large tract in which was soon established the colony of Pennsylvania. His brother, the Duke of York, later added Delaware to Penn's grant. This materially reduced the extent of the territory intrusted to Andros's care and brought about friction between him and the governors of this territory. It also lessened the revenues which Andros could collect for the proprietor and led to his recall in 1681. The City of New York, however, prospered during this period, largely because it was given a monopoly of the flour industry. The exclusive control of the sifting of meal from bran and of exporting it as flour made the millers and merchants of the little city rich at the expense of the rest of the colony.

Thomas Dongan, the next governor, was an Irish gentleman of birth and breeding who proved to be a competent and energetic leader. He brought with him formal permission from the Duke of York to organize a government in which the people of the colony might share. Steps were at once taken to accomplish this. A general assembly of eighteen men elected by the vote of the people met in New York on October 17, 1683, and drafted the "Charter of Liberties." This document is most important, for it marks the beginnings of self-government in this state.

It provided that legislative authority, under the King and the Proprietor, should be vested in "a governor, council and the people met in a general assembly." It also provided for freedom of religion and for taxation by the consent of the people. In these respects it was far in advance of other colonial charters.

Governor Dongan approved of the acts of this Assembly and the Duke of York signed the "Charter of Liberties," but it did not remain long in force. No Stuart prince or king ever kept his word if he found that it was to his advantage to break it. James never believed that the common man had any rights which a king should recognize. His seeming willingness to grant such a liberal charter was in order to persuade the colony to give him more money. So when Charles II died, and the Duke of York became James II of England, he promptly but secretly canceled the charter of New York. His intention was to annex it and New Jersey to New England, where, under Andros as governor, he attempted to revoke their liberal charters and to form a royal province. Fortunately, however, for the rights of Englishmen in the Old World and in the New, the autocratic rule of James was soon to end. The bloodless revolution of 1688 drove James into a well-merited exile and placed upon the throne of England a liberal ruler in the person of William of Orange.

Important Events of Dongan's Rule. Several events of Dongan's administration show that he was a liberal and foresighted governor. Through the Assembly of 1683 he organized the province into twelve counties. New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Westchester, Dutchess, Albany, Orange, and Ulster were within the limits of the present state, while Duke's County in Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and Cornwall in Maine, included the territory over which James claimed jurisdiction outside of the state.

Dongan also vigorously asserted the claims of England to the territory south of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, where the French were attempting to gain a foothold among the

people of the Long House. Under him the charter given by Stuyvesant to New Amsterdam was reëstablished, and a city charter was also granted to Albany. These two towns were the first in America to be organized under a city form of government.

Dongan wisely fostered friendly relations with the Iroquois, and in order to protect the Albany fur trade purchased from them the lands along the upper part of the Susquehanna river, from which many beaver pelts were brought. In this way he prevented William Penn, who saw the opportunity to build up a profitable trade in that region, from obtaining any property rights there.

The Leislerian Rebellion. The change of government in England was destined to have far-reaching results in New York. It led almost immediately to a clash between the common people and the office-holding class which, with the rich merchants and landed proprietors, formed a little aristocracy in the colony. Jacob Leisler, the champion of the people's cause, was the son of an exiled French Protestant minister. Born in Germany, he came to New York in the service of the Dutch West India Company. Here he established himself as a merchant, was elected captain of the militia, and was active in the affairs of the Dutch Reformed Church.

When the aristocratic element was slow to acknowledge William as King, the people, under the leadership of Leisler, seized the government, appointed a committee of safety, and later, through an assembly which was called, clothed Leisler with all the powers of a governor. Albany and its mayor, Peter Schuyler, did not at first recognize his authority, but when the frontier settlements were threatened by the French in Canada, gladly called upon him for help. Nowhere in the records do we find that Leisler and his followers were disloyal to England in thought or act. He claimed to be conducting the affairs of the colony only until a legally appointed governor should be sent over from England, and justified his actions by vague letters

from the King in which William directed "such as may be in rule" to maintain order until the new governor should arrive. As Leisler had been chosen by the people for this very purpose he continued to act, much to the rage of the aristocratic party. One of the measures which shows his statesmanship was the calling of a Congress of the Colonies for the purpose of joining in unified action against the menace of the French. Although this Congress accomplished little, it marks the beginnings of a spirit of unity among the colonists.

The Fall of Leisler. Finally the slow-acting English government sent over Colonel Sloughter as its representative. He seems to have moved with characteristic British deliberation, for it was nearly a year and a half after he received his commission before he reached New York. In the meantime Captain Ingoldsby, in command of the troops of the new governor, arrived. Leisler refused to surrender to him on the ground that the worthy captain had no authority to act in Sloughter's place. Leisler held the fort with his militia, while Ingoldsby had his soldiers quartered in the town. Affairs continued in this state of armed neutrality for several months. At last they clashed and in a skirmish several lives were lost. Two days later Sloughter arrived and Leisler promptly recognized his authority. Leisler's enemies immediately took a cruel revenge. They persuaded Sloughter to try Leisler and his associates for treason, and before a packed court and jury these alleged rebels were convicted. An appeal was immediately taken to England, but without waiting for action on this the death warrants of Leisler and of his son-in-law, Milborne, were signed and they were hanged as traitors on the present site of the *New York Tribune* building. Four years later an English Parliament legalized the acts of Leisler and thus did tardy justice to the memory of a brave man who had been sacrificed to satisfy the malice of his political enemies. In the administration of the Earl of Bellamont, several of these men were punished for various acts of misconduct while in office as councilors.

Good and Bad Governors. During the next half century a procession of governors moved across the stage of New York's history. It is profitless to remember the names of many of them, for they were either viciously corrupt, like Cornbury, or hopelessly incompetent, like Cosby. Two men, however, are worthy of mention because of their influence in the expansion of the colony: Governor Hunter, under whose administration three thousand Germans, exiles of the Palatinate, settled in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys; and Governor Burnet, under whom the fur trade was extended westward. Burnet, desirous of diverting to Albany and New York some of the rich traffic in furs which had followed the St. Lawrence route to Montreal and Quebec, established a trading post at Oswego in 1722. The importance of protecting this outpost of English civilization was soon apparent and Governor Burnet out of his own funds built a fort there four years later. Under date of May 9, 1726, he wrote to the Lords of Trade in London that he had "sent up workmen to build a stone house of strength at a place called Oswego — with a detachment of sixty soldiers to protect the building." He also stated that there were about two hundred traders at the same place. Through the building of this fortified post, Burnet asserted a claim to the territory and obtained a foothold on the Great Lakes. This was the first serious attempt of the English to dispute with the French the mastery of the Great Lakes and the control of the commerce they were destined to carry.

The French were keenly alive to the value of the region. They held Fort Frontenac at the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and they sought to complete the control of the western traffic by building in 1726 a fort on the Niagara river at the great portage between Lakes Erie and Ontario.

Colonial Leaders. The period was marked by the rise to positions of power in the colony of several vigorous and keen-minded men. Peter Schuyler, the first mayor of Albany, was one of these. He had great influence over the Indians — by

whom he was called Brother Quider — for he trusted them and dealt with them honestly. Robert Livingston, a Scotchman who founded Livingston Manor, and Lewis Morris of Morrisania were also leaders in the political affairs and guided the thought of the colony. The descendants of these men were among the great patriots who won for New York and for the American colonies independence from the despotic rule of George the Third. Indeed, all through the annals of our national life, the names of Schuyler, Livingston, and Morris are illustrious. On the other hand the DeLanceys, probably the most prominent of the French Huguenot families of New York, were loyalists at the time of the Revolution, although they had been in colonial days influential in the affairs of the colony.

Freedom of the Press Established. A dramatic incident occurred in 1734 which had far-reaching results. Supported by influential friends, John Peter Zenger, an able and courageous editor, had established a paper called the *New York Weekly Journal*. In the columns of his paper he severely criticized the arrogant and corrupt conduct of Governor Cosby. Cosby had him arrested and tried for libel, but the jury acquitted him of the charge. The address of Andrew Hamilton, a leader of the Pennsylvania bar and Speaker of the Assembly of that colony, who defended Zenger, was a lofty and courageous plea for freedom of speech and of the press. This plea, and the verdict which it won, did much to establish those principles upon which the rights of man and the safety of democracy are founded in America.

Wars and Rumors of War. In the first three of the inter-colonial wars New York bore its share of the burden and suffered the usual ravages of frontier warfare. But in the final struggle — a struggle which was to determine whether France or England were to control the destinies of the New World — our state took the foremost part. It was the key to a continent, the loss of which would imperil the very existence of the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. So the British government called a

colonial congress in Albany for the purpose of arranging a common plan of action against the French. Here, in 1754, delegates from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland met in conference with the Iroquois chiefs, and here Benjamin Franklin, on behalf of Pennsylvania, presented a plan of union. The plan proposed by Franklin was not acceptable



ABERCROMBIE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST TICONDEROGA

This army of 15,000 troops is the largest ever afloat upon Lake George. The expedition ended disastrously, the English losing 2000 in one day. Compared with the splendor of his advance, Abercrombie's retreat was an ignominious flight.

either to the colonists or to the government, but it was a prophecy of that greater union which was destined not many years later to win for us our freedom. The congress adjourned after making preparations for the impending struggle with France.

The events of the French and Indian War have been told elsewhere in this book and need not be repeated here. The war in New York had two distinct and contrasting phases: the first marked by the military incompetence and lack of energy of the English generals sent over to lead the campaigns, and the

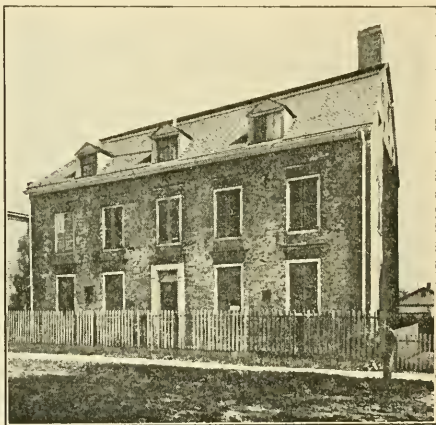
second by the vigorous conduct of the war to a successful conclusion under the guidance of a new Prime Minister, William Pitt.

It brought forward a new leader in colonial affairs in the person of Sir William Johnson. Johnson was a landed proprietor in the Mohawk valley, a brave and vigorous man with great influence among the Iroquois. He kept that powerful confederacy loyal to the English, defeated the French at Lake George, and captured Fort Niagara. The glory of the name of Johnson was sadly dimmed after his death, by the cruel acts of his descendants in the border warfare of the Revolution.

New York emerged from the French and Indian War greatly exhausted, but with a growing consciousness of her power. Her soldiers had proven themselves equal to the British regulars, her men had come closer in contact with the men

of other colonies, the fear of French invasion was past. The burdens of unjust taxation were soon to come. Here then were the experiences which trained men for a new struggle against tyranny.

Early Trade Routes. Before we begin the story of the Revolution it will be well to consider some of the early trade routes in the colony. No other settlement in America was better situated for the development of commerce than New York. East-



FORT CRAILO

Built in 1642, and said to be the oldest building in the United States. It is in the city of Rensselaer, directly across the Hudson river from Albany. It was here that a British officer composed "Yankee Doodle," while the fort was the headquarters of General Abercrombie, of the British army, in 1757, during the French and Indian war.

ward through Long Island Sound and south along the Jersey shore the coastal trade was protected. The mighty Hudson was the gateway to a continent. North of this the Champlain valley and to the west, the Mohawk, gave ready access to rich fur-bearing regions. Along the upper reaches of the Delaware and the Susquehanna fertile lands were already sparsely settled by pioneer farmers who had come up from Pennsylvania or across the Catskills. These settlements were doomed to a short-lived existence, for they were swept away by the fierce Indian raids of the Revolution. Up the river courses, the natural trade routes which interlace the Empire State, and along the Iroquois trails, thoroughfares which in peace and in war the Indians had traveled for centuries, sturdy pioneers pushed their way and planted little settlements.

Of all these routes of trade the Mohawk and the great central trail of the Iroquois, extending from the Hudson to the Niagara frontier, were the most important. From this main highway a strategic portage route diverged at Rome, where Fort Stanwix was built in the French and Indian war, and extended by way of Oneida Lake and the Oswego river to Lake Ontario. The military importance of this portage as a route of colonial travel in the interior of America was second only to the one at Niagara. Over these thoroughfares in time of war, border armies hurried by; in their recesses red-skinned highwaymen lurked to collect the coveted poll tax; through them in time of peace long streams of immigration flowed. They were filled with voyageurs and traders, explorers and missionaries, passing to and fro on their errands of trade or of conquest.

New York in the Revolution. We do not need to go to New England or to Virginia for evidence of a spirited opposition to the unjust measures which the British ministry and a king-controlled Parliament now sought to impose upon the American colonies. New York was foremost in asserting the rights of colonial Englishmen. Again and again the leaders of her assembly protested with dignity and with eloquence against

taxation by an authority outside of the colony and against any interference with her colonial courts. They justly held that such an autocratic assumption of authority was a violation of constitutional rights.

When, therefore, a stamp tax was imposed by Parliament, the issue of "taxation without representation" was met promptly by New York. A committee of correspondence had been in touch with similar committees in other colonies, and, at the



THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA, OCT. 17, 1777

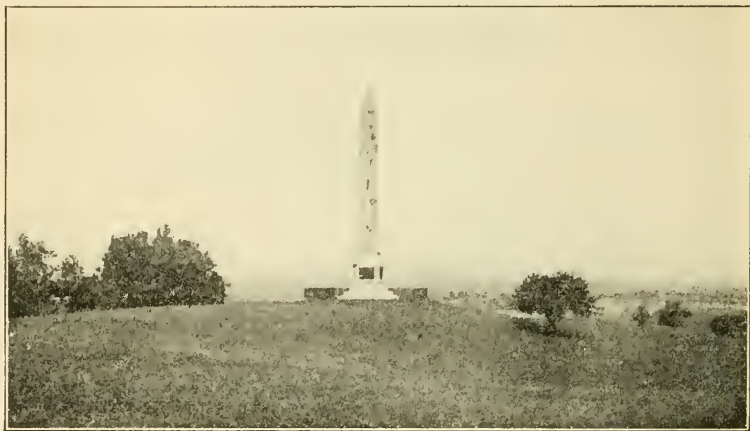
The defeat of the British here was the turning point of the Revolution.

suggestion of this committee, coupled with an invitation from Massachusetts, a colonial congress met in New York on October 7, 1765. This congress issued a petition to the King and a declaration of rights and grievances. Its chief glory, however, lies in the fact that the colonies here met for the first time by their own will to join together for action against tyranny.

The repeal of the Stamp Act led to short-lived rejoicing, for other oppressive measures soon followed. The stamp tax and

later the so-called tea tax was met by merchants of New York with non-importation agreements in which the merchants of other colonies joined. Like Boston we had a "tea party" of our own and dumped the hated tea into the harbor as uncereemoniously as did our New England friends.

Clashes between the citizens and the British soldiers in New York were not infrequent. An organization called the "Sons of Liberty," which had been in existence since the days of Zenger, was now most active. Liberty poles erected by these



BATTLE MONUMENT AT ORISKANY

Here General Herkimer checked the advance of St. Leger and made possible the American victory over Burgoyne.

men were cut down again and again by the soldiers, until one bound with iron was raised. This pole remained standing until after the capture of the city in the Revolution. The "battle" of Golden Hill, in John Street on January 18, 1770, between the "Sons of Liberty" and the troops showed the temper of the people. It was only a street brawl, but in it, two months before the Boston massacre, the blood of Americans was shed. Secretly and openly the spirit of freedom spread. Men began to train in military companies. Young Hamilton, a student of King's College, formed among the stu-

dents there an organization called the "Hearts of Oak," with the motto "Freedom or Death." Party lines began to be sharply drawn. On the one side were the Tories, composed of some of the wealthier merchants and landed proprietors, men who hesitated to break the ties which bound the colony to the mother country; on the other were the Patriots, the most radical of whom were already looking forward eagerly to complete independence. When the New York Assembly under



THE LONG ROOM IN FRAUNCES TAVERN, NEW YORK CITY

Here Washington bade farewell to his Generals at the close of the Revolution, December 4, 1783.

Tory influence failed to represent public opinion, the people took matters into their own hands and formed a provincial congress. This body was the governing power in the colony until New York became an independent state.

Thus the curtain rose upon the mighty drama of the Revolution. In this drama New York played a brave but tragic part. She was worthily represented in the halls of Congress by men like Livingston, Morris, and Jay and on the field of battle by Schuyler and Clinton. Her frontier settlements were ravaged

by Tory and Indian raids, and the City of New York was subject to the severities of British military rule. Yet at Saratoga and at Oriskany the patriot farmers turned back the tide of invasion; in the midst of the turmoil and horrors of war the people formed a state government, and, in 1777, adopted a constitution.

New York an Independent Nation. From this time until the United States was formed, New York was an independent state leagued together with the other states in a loose confederation. Her first Governor was George Clinton, whose influence



OLD SENATE HOUSE AT KINGSTON, N. Y.

The first constitution of the State was adopted here
April 20, 1777.

and popularity were shown by his successive elections to that office until 1795. The legislature was a migratory body. Driven from New York by the coming of the British, it met at different times in Poughkeepsie, in Kingston, and in New York until the capital was finally located in Albany.

During the critical period from 1783 to 1789 the industry and commerce of New York flourished, often at the expense of the other states. This may explain her indifference toward the movement which culminated in the formation of a Federal government. The only representative from New York in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 who was in sympathy with its work or whose opinion carried much weight, was Alexander Hamilton. When the constitution was adopted he hurried back to New York to begin the fight for its acceptance by this state. Opposed to him was the powerful Governor, George Clinton, as the leader of those who believed in the doctrine of

state rights. But in the *Federalist Papers*, written jointly by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, the advantages to be gained by a stronger centralized government were so clearly and so eloquently presented that the people were convinced.

A convention, which was called at Poughkeepsie in 1788, after recommending the addition of amendments which should more explicitly protect the rights of the states, adopted the Federal constitution. Thus New York, by its own act, ceased to exist as an independent republic and became a part of a greater Nation.

The Federal government chose New York City as its temporary capital and here, on the steps of Federal Hall, at the corner of Wall and Broad Streets, General George Washington, with solemn pomp and ceremony, was inaugurated as the first President of the United States of America.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Give an account of the principal events in the governorship of Dongan.
2. Tell the story of the so-called Leislerian rebellion.
3. Show in what ways the English governors sought to control the fur trade within the territory claimed by the English.
4. Give an account of the Zenger trial and show its importance in our later history.
5. On a map of New York trace the more important of the early trade routes.
6. How did the early settlers live? What were some of their dangers and difficulties?
7. What measures did the colonists of New York adopt in opposition to the policies of George the Third?
8. From what parts of Europe did the immigrants come principally during this century and where did they settle in this state?
9. Why did not the weakness of the confederated government concern New York directly and how was she finally persuaded to ratify the federal Constitution?

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A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

We come now to the story of that remarkable growth in population and in resources which has made our Commonwealth the greatest state of the Union. It began, of course, with the commerce of New York City and the westward extension of frontier settlements. It developed with the growth of agriculture, with the rise of manufacturing industries, and with the development of means of transportation.

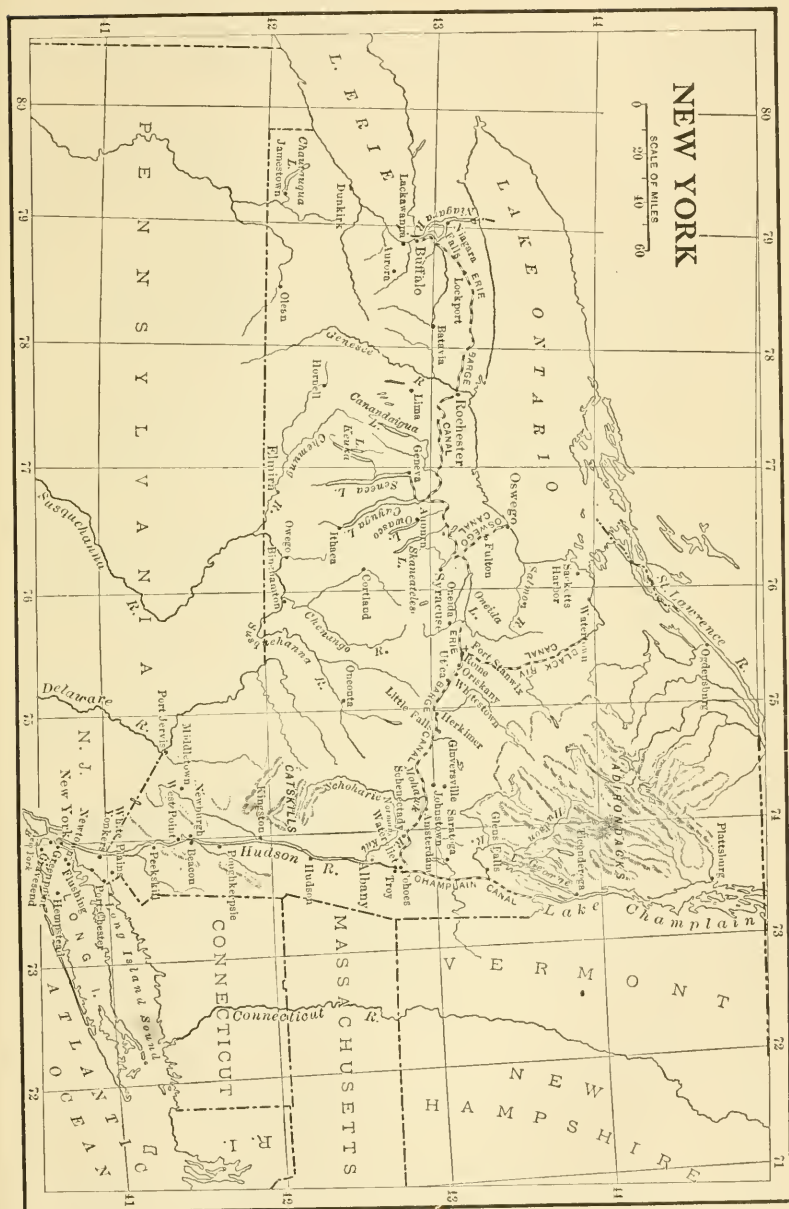
Land Grants. The close of the Revolution opened the interior of the state for settlement. The power of the Iroquois Confederacy had been broken, for they had, with the exception of a part of the Oneidas, sided with the English and had been sternly punished by General Sullivan in his expedition into the Seneca country. Many revolutionary soldiers had received land bounties and, taking up claims on these, had cleared little farms. The state was prodigal with its undeveloped resources, for it sold vast tracts to land speculators for mere pittances. An illustration of this is the MacComb purchase of more than three and one half million acres of land, for a large part of which MacComb paid at the rate of eight pence an acre. A much worthier gift, one in which we should take pride, was the generous cession in 1780 to the confederated government of New York's interest in the northwest territory. We had the honor of being the first of the states to surrender our rights to this territory. Massachusetts and Virginia voted against the acceptance of this gift, but the force of public opinion led them later to surrender also their claim to the same region.

Massachusetts also had a shadowy claim to western New York based upon her royal charter. By a compromise she was allowed to purchase a vast tract in this part of the state from the Iroquois. From this she sold about 200,000 acres between the Oswego and Chenango rivers and 6,000,000 acres in the Seneca Lake country and the valley of the Genesee to Phelps

and Gorham. This rich country passed later into the hands of the Holland Land Company, which extended its holdings to the Niagara frontier. The development of this section in the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century led to a tide of western emigration along the central Indian trail, the ancient highway of the Iroquois. In 1794 the "Great Genesee Road" was chartered by the legislature and was extended from Whitestown to Geneva. In 1798 it was built through to Buffalo, where Joseph Ellicott, as agent of the Holland Land Company, had surveyed a city site. We can trace the successive waves of western emigration by the names of places along the New York Central Railroad: Amsterdam and Herkimer mark the peaceful invasion of the sturdy Dutch and Palatine farmers who settled the Mohawk valley; Whitestown, Auburn, and Rochester, the stern New Englanders who found broad acres and fertile fields awaiting them in central and western New York. How swiftly this tide flowed is shown by the fact that in 1820 Ontario, Genesee, and Oneida were the second, third, and fourth counties in population, whereas thirty years before they had been almost unbroken wildernesses.

The Rise of New Parties. The first of the nineteenth century marks the beginning in this state of the decline of the Federalist party. Its leaders had been powerful factors in the building of the nation. Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury had established our national credit. John Jay, a man of pure character and lofty ideals, had successfully negotiated a wise, but at first an unpopular treaty with Great Britain, and Gouverneur Morris had represented the United States with honor abroad.

In state affairs, however, the new Democratic-Republican party was rapidly coming into prominence. It might also have been called the Clintonian party, for it was for years dominated by George Clinton and his nephew DeWitt Clinton. Allied with these was the powerful Livingston family, Aaron Burr, and the war governor of 1812, Daniel D. Tompkins. It was a time of bitter personal rivalries, one of which cul-



minated in the tragic death of Hamilton at the hands of the selfish Burr.

The War of 1812. In 1812 New York was again called upon to bear the burden of a war with Great Britain. The navy of England was at first so occupied with the war with France that there was little danger of hostile attacks along the Atlantic seaboard. But the frontier of New York, from Niagara to Oswego, Sacketts Harbor and the St. Lawrence border, was easily open to invasion from Canada. For this reason many of the land battles and inland naval engagements of the war were fought within the limits of this state. Lake Ontario was the scene of naval activity. Here with great difficulty, since most of the equipment had to be transported overland from the Hudson, but with an energy and determination that may be envied to-day, a respectable fleet was built and manned.

But the most brilliant affair of the war in this state was the defeat of a British invasion along the war-worn Champlain route. Here, on September 11, 1814, in a naval engagement off Plattsburg, Commodore MacDonough utterly routed a stronger English fleet. On land General Prevost, with 15,000 veteran troops, was opposed by MacComb with 3000 regulars and an equal number of militia from New York and Vermont. The defeat of his supporting naval force compelled Prevost to retreat. Like Burgoyne, he failed, checked by the bravery and devotion of Americans.

The Rise of Manufacturing Industries. Although the War of 1812 severely taxed the resources of New York, it had an indirect and unexpectedly beneficial effect upon her industries. Shut off from European trade by the embargo and later by the war, New York was forced, together with the other states, to manufacture her own goods. The introduction of machinery driven by water power or by steam led to the building of foundries and factories, and these spread rapidly. The beginnings of the great textile industries were made. The industrial revolution of Europe found root here also, and although the pros-

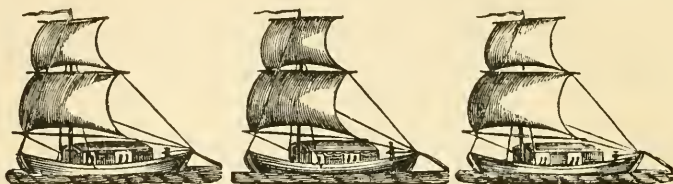
perity of our manufacturing industries was temporarily checked by an influx of European goods at the close of the war, we have grown to be the greatest of the states in the variety and value of our manufactured products.

Problems of Transportation. Manufactured goods and products of the farm are of only local value unless they can be readily exchanged. The problems of transportation, therefore, were matters of public interest. We have seen how the waterways were in early days the natural highways of trade and of travel. But the canoe and the batteau were too slow, and men were seeking some faster means of water travel. As early as 1789 Fitch and Rumsey were experimenting on the Potomac and the Delaware with steam-driven boats. Their attempts attracted the attention of Chancellor Livingston and later of Robert Fulton. At last Fulton succeeded in solving the problem, and on August 7, 1807, the dream of steam navigation came true. On that day his boat, the *Clermont*, started under her own power that historic voyage from New York to Albany, one hundred and fifty miles away, where she arrived thirty-two hours later. Ten years later a steamboat was regularly plying on the waters of Lake Ontario.

Private enterprise also engaged in the building of toll roads. The success of the Genesee road led to other chartered turnpikes, so that by 1808 there were a thousand miles of them within the state.

The Erie Canal. A still more ambitious project was now conceived. After the Revolution, Washington, in visiting the interior of the state, foresaw the vast possibilities of its waterways. Before the end of the century, locks had been built around the rapids of the Mohawk and a canal at Fort Stanwix connected that river with the head waters of Oneida Lake. But the opening to settlement of the rich lands of western New York and the need which the War of 1812 had shown of a means of intercommunication between the East and the West led to the building by the state of the Erie Canal. In this great under-

taking Governor DeWitt Clinton was the prime mover. Started at Rome in 1817, it was completed from Lake Erie to the Hudson, a distance of 363 miles, in 1825.



NEW LINE.

THE subscribers inform the public, that they have established a line of *STAGE BOATS*, to ply between this city and Utica, for the accommodation of passengers from the latter place, and to carry up such valuable articles of merchandize, &c. as require the utmost care and dispatch. One Boat will leave Utica every Monday and Wednesday morning, and Schenectady every Wednesday and Friday morning. For passage at Utica, apply to A. Van Santvoord & Co.

THE OLD LINE CONTINUED,

From Schenectady for Oswego, Cayuga, and Seneca Falls. One Boat will start regularly every Saturday, during the season. Goods received between Saturday and Tuesday evening, to be forwarded beyond Utica, will be put on board the *Stage Boat* of Wednesday morning, and will overtake the Saturday's boat, at Utica, where they will be put on board and forwarded as directed.

Wagons will, as heretofore, be kept in constant readiness to transport from the city of Albany to Schenectady, or any part of the United States and Canada. Gentlemen who reside at a distance from the water communication are informed, that their goods will be delivered from the boats at any place they may think proper to designate; and at the Seneca Falls, to avoid delays, wagons are provided to convey the property, if required, to its place of destination.

The subscribers consider themselves the actual carriers, and responsible for all property passing through their hands, unavoidable accidents excepted.

Eri Lusher & Co.

Schenectady, May 1, 1815.

RIGGS & STEVENS, Printers—Schenectady.

ADVERTISEMENT OF OLD CANAL LINE

It brought the resources of the West and the wares of the East together. The abundant crops of wheat raised on the fertile lands of western New York now found a ready market

at the Atlantic seaboard. Before this the cost of transportation had been so excessive that it was said that the returns from an acre of wheat would buy only a pair of breeches. The success of the Erie project encouraged the state to embark upon a policy of connecting it with other waterways of the state. A series of canals were built, among which the Oswego, the Black River and the Champlain were most important. But with the coming of the railroads they ceased to be commercially profitable and most of them have long since been abandoned. The Erie was used not only for freight but also for passenger traffic. On its placid surface and along its picturesque route travelers could take long journeys more comfortably than in the stage coaches of that day.

These artificial waterways fostered the growth of cities along their routes and so materially helped toward the upbuilding of our commerce.

The Era of Railroads. The next step forward in solving the problem of transportation was the building of railroads. The first line in this state was between Albany and Schenectady in 1831. Then the Erie was started in 1836 and in 1851 had extended its lines to Dunkirk on Lake Erie. The New York Central came slowly into being through the consolidation of many smaller lines connecting the cities of the state.

Thus the Indian trails and waterways, the turnpikes, the canals, the steamboats, and the railroads mark successive stages in the development of transportation in this state.

The Birth of New Parties. During nearly forty years of the first part of the nineteenth century the Democratic party controlled the policies of the state. Its great leader, DeWitt Clinton, died in 1828, but under the adroit management of Martin Van Buren and the inner circle of politicians known as the Albany regency, its sway was almost absolute. One of its ablest men was William L. Marcy, who, as governor of the state and as Secretary of State in the national government, rendered distinguished service to the country.

But the Whig party, as heirs to the principles of the old Federalists, was coming to be an important factor in national affairs. The effects of the financial panic which swept the country in 1837 was felt severely in New York. This, together with a reaction against the autocratic political methods of the Albany regency, carried the Whigs into power. They controlled the legislature in 1837 and in 1838 elected as governor William H. Seward of Auburn. Seward was destined to play a dominant part in the affairs of the nation. As the champion of the cause of anti-slavery, as a Whig leader, and later as a founder of the Republican party, and as a loyal member of Lincoln's cabinet, he was one of the greatest statesmen which our commonwealth has produced.

Political changes came rapidly in the next twenty years. Old political affiliations were broken and new ones formed. The addition of vast western tracts at the close of the Mexican war awakened the dormant slavery question. Party strife ran high. Factional differences which centered around the personality of Governor Silas Wright arose among the Democrats. The "barnburners" were his friends and the "hunkers" his political enemies.

The Whigs, as a national party, temporized on the issue of slavery and so alienated many of their northern friends. The shifting mass of public opinion, part Whig and part Democratic, joined first the free-soil movement and then the American or "Know-Nothing" party until at last a new party, clearcut and positive in its convictions regarding a lofty moral principle, came into existence. This was the Republican party and to its hands was intrusted for many years the destiny of state and nation.

Early Literary Activity. Although New England has been generally regarded as the literary center of America, New York was the first to produce writers of more than national fame. Washington Irving, as our first great essayist, and James Fenimore Cooper, as our first great novelist, won recognition both

at home and abroad in the field of letters. In this creative age of American literature, a group of young poets and essayists was formed with Irving as its central figure. Paulding, Drake, and Fitz-Greene Halleck were the most conspicuous of this group, and under their great leader they set the literary fashions of the age.

The democratic spirit of Thomas Paine,—who wrote vigorous and daring political pamphlets during the Revolution,—the genius of Poe and the art of Bryant may be claimed for our state, although they were not natives of New York.

The Struggle for the Union. The decade from 1850 to 1860 was marked by a rapidly widening chasm between the North and the South. A majority in New York believed that slavery was morally wrong and that this institution ought not to be allowed to extend its evil influence beyond its present boundaries. A radical minority, however, argued for the abolition of slave labor. They spoke of an irrepressible conflict and of a law higher than the constitution. Men like Gerritt Smith aided in the evasion of fugitive slave laws and helped the work of the underground railroads.

The mills of the state, on the other hand, were dependent upon the South for their supply of cotton, and the merchants of New York City had extensive trade with the South. They were loath to see these commercial relations disturbed. But the election of Lincoln to the Presidency, the secession of the southern states, and the attack upon Fort Sumter united public opinion, and the state sprang to the defense of the Union.

New York's share in the Civil War is a glorious one. From every city and hamlet and farm the best of our American blood responded to the call to arms. In the battle of Bull Run we furnished two fifths of the troops and suffered two fifths of the losses, and in the whole war a half million of our men were actively engaged.

A lawless element in our cities, aided by ignorant foreigners, however, opposed the enforcement of the Draft Act. Riots

broke out in July of 1863 — the same month in which the victories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg were won — and were suppressed only by stern measures. More than a thousand lives were uselessly sacrificed in New York City during these days of mob rule. The steadfastness and sobriety with which we met the demand for universal service in 1917 is in marked contrast to the dark days of '63.

These evidences of lawlessness in the cities did not indicate any general sentiment in favor of the southern cause. A deep underlying sentiment of loyalty pervaded the state as a whole, and with steadfastness of purpose the people pressed forward toward a successful conclusion of the war.

Industrial Growth. The close of the Civil War left the state reduced in population and in resources. But the growth of the transportation system, linking the East with the West, the marvelous development of New York's manufacturing industries, and the rise of the West as a great food-producing region for the markets of the East, restored this state to its position of supremacy in industry and in commerce. This industrial and commercial growth encouraged the shifting of our population toward our cities and led to the complex problems of city life.

Before the public conscience was aroused, corruption in the governments of some of our cities was not uncommon. The erection of municipal buildings and public works, the granting of franchises to street railroads and lighting companies and even the regulation of crime, were made the occasions of graft on the part of dishonest politicians.

The Tweed Ring. The most flagrant example of this was in the activities of the so-called "Tweed Ring" in New York. This ring, under the leadership of "Boss" Tweed, is said to have defrauded the city, in the early '70's, of over \$100,000,000. It was overthrown through the exposé in the *New York Times*, and Samuel J. Tilden, who prosecuted the criminal cases against its members, rose to national prominence and became a candidate for the presidency.

Political Changes. A split in the Republican party caused by the opposition of Senators Conkling and Platt of New York to the policies of President Garfield in 1880-81 had far-reaching results. The "Stalwarts" supported these Senators, while the "Half-breeds" were loyal to the National Republican administration. This lack of unity in the Republican party restored the Democrats to power in the state, and their governor, Grover Cleveland, was later elected President.

In more recent years, Theodore Roosevelt, who had been governor of the state, became President through the assassination of McKinley at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. He served a second term and then was the foremost leader of the new Progressive party and was its defeated presidential candidate. Both Cleveland and Roosevelt were fearless and independent leaders in the administration of their high offices.

Progress in Inventions. In the industrial growth of America, inventions developed or perfected in New York have played a large part. Closely following the application of steam to transportation on water and on land came a new means of communication. Joseph Henry, a teacher in the Albany Academy for Boys, experimented in the transmission of sound by electricity through wires. This was the basis of the invention of the telegraph by Samuel F. B. Morse, a professor in New York University. In 1845 the New York, Albany, and Buffalo Telegraph Company was formed, with headquarters in Utica. This was the first magnetic telegraph company in the world, but it was not long before a network of wires was spread across the land. Then came the successful laying, in 1866, of an Atlantic cable. The credit for this great enterprise belongs to Cyrus W. Field, a merchant prince of New York City. In financing this venture he was aided by Peter Cooper, a manufacturer of that city and the founder of an institution devoted to industrial education known in his honor as Cooper Union.

The *Monitor*, an ironclad designed by John Ericsson, a native of Sweden, was built in one hundred days at Greenpoint, across

the East River from New York, and marked the beginning of a new era in naval warfare.

The processes of producing paper in vast quantities from pulp wood have been largely developed in our state. Northern New York is said to supply one fourth of all the news print used in America. The great newspapers of to-day are made possible because of this supply of paper and because of the Hoe press, invented by Richard Hoe and perfected by his son.

The manufacture of typewriters and of photographic instruments has largely centered in the cities of the state, because the men who were responsible for the remarkable growth of these industries have been citizens of this state.

The Influence of the Press. The newspaper is a potent factor in molding public opinion. In this respect four of the metropolitan journals of to-day have had a long and usually honorable career. The *Evening Post*, founded in 1801, had as its editor for fifty years the poet William Cullen Bryant. The *New York Sun*, founded in 1833, attained distinction under the brilliant leadership of Charles A. Dana. Horace Greeley, as the editor of the *Tribune*, founded in 1841, through the vigor of his unique personality wielded a remarkable influence throughout the North during the Civil War and the reconstruction period. The *New York Times*, founded in 1851, was instrumental in the exposure and punishment of the Tweed Ring in New York City. The cartoons of Nast, published in the *Times* and in *Harper's Weekly* also contributed toward the awakening of the public conscience.

In recent years weekly magazines like *Colliers*, *The Outlook*, and *The Independent* have exerted a wholesome influence upon civic life. In their field, also, the *Century*, *Scribners*, and *Harper's* magazines have been representative of the best American thought. Many of the novels and essays of J. G. Holland appeared in *Scribners* while he was its editor.

New York in Literature. Great writers belong to no state or nation. Their work is the inspiration of all. It is perhaps

not fair, therefore, to claim as a product of New York all the men and women who have come to the great city to market their wares. William D. Howells, the dean of American letters, Walt Whitman, and Edwin Markham, the poets of democracy, and George William Curtis are among those who have been at times residents of New York.

John Burroughs, the genial essayist of nature; William Winter, the dramatic critic; and Theodore Roosevelt, whose vigorous pen sets high ideals for our common life, are representative of the newer school of prose writers who have brought honor to our state.

The Women of New York. Among the women of New York who have distinguished themselves in literature or in public service, it is possible to mention only a few. Emma Willard may justly be named first, for she was a pioneer in securing higher education for women. In 1821 she established the Troy Female Seminary and trained there many teachers for the schools of the South and West. She found text-books inadequate, so wrote a number for use in her school. She was a woman of marked executive ability and of great powers of mind. Through the munificence of Mrs. Russell Sage the Emma Willard School has been established as a continuation of the Troy Female Seminary, and it is now one of the leading preparatory schools for girls in America.

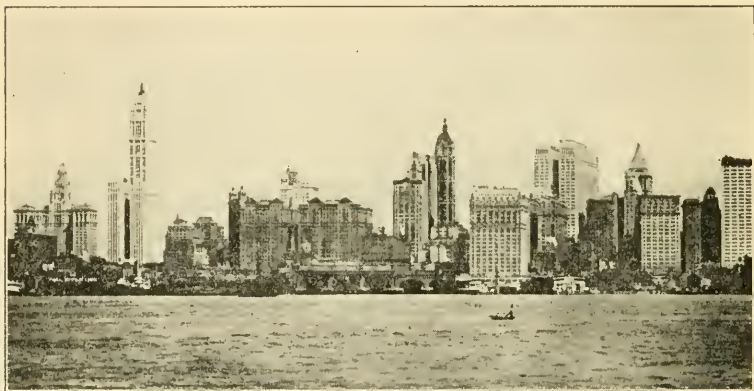
Vassar College, for the higher education of women, was founded at Poughkeepsie in 1865. Similar institutions are Wells College at Aurora and Elmira College at Elmira, while the great Universities of the state, Columbia, New York, Cornell, and Syracuse, are open to women as well as to men. Syracuse, especially, is a pioneer in the training of women for the profession of medicine.

Frances Willard, the great leader in temperance reform, was born in New York and was at one time preceptress of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima.

Among the leaders in the movement for equal suffrage in

this state were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and, more recently, Mary Garrett Hay.

The poets Alice and Phoebe Cary, although natives of Ohio, lived the last twenty years of their lives in New York. Mary Mapes Dodge, as editor of *St. Nicholas*, has brought joy to thousands of boys and girls.



NEW YORK CITY, FROM THE HUDSON RIVER

Great Engineering Feats. The marvelous growth of the city of New York and the geographical limitations of Manhattan Island in the last twenty years have necessitated the building of great engineering works unsurpassed by any similar structures in other great cities of the world. The most conspicuous examples of these are the subways, which provide for rapid transportation underground, and the system of reservoirs and aqueducts which supply from the great Ashoken reservoir in the Catskills an abundance of pure water.

The barge canal, now rapidly nearing completion, at a cost to the state of New York of about \$150,000,000, links the seaboard with the Great Lakes. It follows in part the Mohawk river and the route of the old Erie Canal and has branch lines reaching to Lakes Champlain, Ontario, Cayuga, and Seneca. The whole system includes 440 miles of artificial waterways

and 350 miles of lakes and rivers, or 790 miles in all. Each lock will hold a single boat of 2000 tons capacity or two boats of 1500 tons each. Vessels 150 feet in length can be operated on the canal, and it is estimated that ten million tons of freight can be transported through the system in a single season.

Recent Progress. New York has in recent years moved steadily forward. The corruption of the Tweed Ring and similar cliques, broken by an aroused civic conscience, has led to a more active interest in public affairs, and our city governments are generally conducted on a higher plane.

In the conservation and development of natural resources, in the variety of soil and products, in the application of electricity to industrial processes, and in the growth of commerce, our state has taken foremost rank. Our merchants have ventures on every sea and in every land. Our barge canal, our state highways, and our railroad systems have supplied us with unequalled transportation facilities and so have contributed materially to our prosperity. New York City has become the center of the financial interests of the country as well as the chief gateway to the continent.

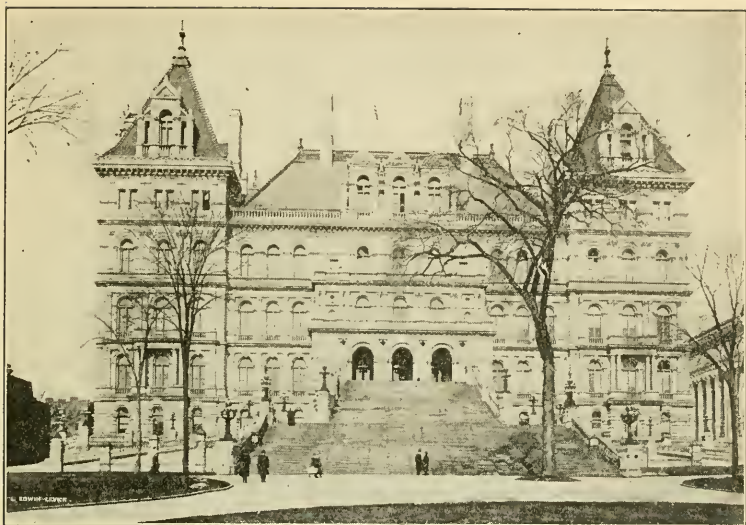
The diverse currents that have run into the population of city and state have made New York cosmopolitan. The union of strains of blood and character which marked the colonial period, when Dutch and English, Scotch and French, fused into Americans, again is called upon to assimilate other peoples from the south and east of Europe and to make them also into loyal citizens of our state and nation. We who are citizens of this imperial commonwealth, feel just pride in its record, and we would bequeath this pride and a sense of loyalty and of honest service to the citizens of to-morrow, the boys and girls of the Empire State.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Compare early methods of travel in New York with modern methods.
2. Give an account of the settlement of western New York.
3. What was New York's share in the War of 1812?
4. Write an account of the building of the Erie Canal and compare this canal with the Barge Canal.
5. What were the political parties in New York during the first half of the nineteenth century and who were the principal leaders of each?
6. Give an account of literary activity in this state.
7. Who are some of the noted women in the history of New York?
8. Give an account of the public services of each of the following:
Alexander Hamilton, DeWitt Clinton, William H. Seward, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt.
9. Show the relation of either the physical resources or of the industrial life of this state to its present prosperity.
10. How do you account for the phenomenal growth of New York City in a single century?
11. What were the effects of the building of railroads and of improved highways on the internal development of New York state?
12. How has New York distinguished itself in inventions, in literature, in finance, in civic life?

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STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, ALBANY

HOW THE STATE IS GOVERNED

The State Older than the Nation. The first constitution of New York State was adopted in 1777. The state existed, therefore, as an independent republic for more than ten years, bound only by its membership in the league of states formed under the Articles of Confederation. But since the weak central government, through its Continental Congresses, could not enforce its demands, each state was sovereign within its own borders. When, however, the State of New York, through its representatives assembled in convention at Poughkeepsie, adopted the Federal constitution on July 25, 1788, it ceased to be an independent nation and became an integral part of the United States.

Relation of the State to the Federal Government. The United States is a government of delegated powers. In other words it has only those powers which the several states voluntarily surrendered to it. Therefore the Federal constitution in one section says that "the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government"

and in another section that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

So we live under the jurisdiction of two distinct institutions, state and national, each working together harmoniously for the good of the people. The state does the things that the nation cannot do. The two sets of laws do not conflict. The state and municipal laws supplement those of the central government. Consequently it is important that the youth of New York State know how their state and communities are governed and what the relation of each is to their daily life.

The State Constitution. The constitution of the state is the fundamental law. It is a written document guaranteeing, as does the Federal constitution, personal liberty, security of property, and providing a system of administration which consists of three separate departments, executive, legislative, and judicial. It differs from the Federal constitution in that it is not permanent. We have had but one Federal constitution, which can be changed only by amendment, while our state has now its fourth.

The fundamental principle underlying each of these four have remained practically the same, but the minor provisions have changed to respond to new conditions which have developed with the growth of the state. A state constitution is a guide to the administration of matters affecting the welfare of the people who must live under it and so must contain many intimate local features.

How Our Constitution is Made. In our state the constitutions have been adopted by representatives elected by the voters of the state. These men form what is known as a constitutional convention. After they have completed their work the constitution is referred to the voters of the state, who decide whether it is to be adopted or rejected.

Who May Vote. Who are the voters of the state to whom we have referred? Every man and woman twenty-one years of age or older who has been a citizen of the United States for ninety

days and who has lived in the state one year, in the county four months, and in the election district thirty days may vote at all elections, unless disqualified because of crime or of mental deficiency.

Actual Government

The Legislature. If you were to visit our state capital at Albany you would doubtless go first to our capitol building, in which are housed most of the departments of our government. In one wing of this building you would find a number of men engaged in making the laws of the state. This is the Assembly. In the opposite wing of the building you would find a smaller body of men, also occupied with the same business. This is the Senate. These two chambers, as they are called, form the State Legislature.

The Assembly. The number of assemblymen is fixed by the constitution at one hundred fifty. These men are elected for a term of one year by the vote of the qualified electors of each assembly district. The presiding officer of the Assembly is the Speaker, who is chosen from among the members at the first day's meeting of the annual session. The Speaker has great power, for he appoints the standing committees, of which there are about thirty, and it is in the meetings of these committees that most of the work of the session is carried on.

The Senate. The Senate is composed of fifty-one members, apportioned also by population and chosen by the electors in the senatorial districts for a term of two years. The Lieutenant Governor is the ex-officio presiding officer of the Senate, but, unlike the Speaker of the Assembly, has no vote except in case of a tie.

The Annual Session. The Legislature meets every year on the first Wednesday in January. The length of the session is not limited, but it usually adjourns in April.

How Our Laws are Made. If you were a member of the Legislature and desired to have a certain measure enacted as a law, you would present the measure in the form of a bill. A legislative bill may be introduced in either house. It is then

read and referred to the proper committee, where its merits are considered at private sittings of the committee or at public hearings, where friends or opponents of the measure may appear and be heard. The committee may "kill" the bill by not reporting it. If, however, they approve of the measure they report it to that branch of the legislature which they represent. A bill must have three readings. Each reading, except in an emergency, must be on different days. After the third reading it is debated in the house until the "previous question" is called for. This closes the debate and a vote is taken. If it is passed by a majority of the members of the house in which it originated, it is sent to the other house. Here it passes through the same process as in the first. To become a law it must either have the signature of the governor, or, if he refuses to sign it, be returned to the house in which it originated, with his objections. If it then receives a two thirds vote of both houses it becomes a law without his signature, or if the governor fails to sign it or to return it within ten days it nevertheless becomes a law. However, after the final adjournment of the legislature this procedure does not hold. After this adjournment all unsigned measures remaining in the hands of the governor at the end of thirty days are automatically killed.

Special city laws follow a somewhat different procedure. Such laws, before they become operative, have to be referred to the city or cities concerned to be considered by the mayor alone in cities of the first class and by the mayor and common council in all other cities.

These city officials have fifteen days in which they may approve or disapprove the measure. If approved the bill follows the usual course of other bills and goes to the governor; if not approved the legislature may repass the bill and send it to the governor for his signature or veto.

The object of this provision is to give to the cities some opportunity to be heard with respect to legislation affecting their interests.

The Taxing Power. In order to meet the current expenses of government, to provide for public improvements, to care for the wards of the state and to support education, it becomes necessary to raise money by taxation. The taxing power is vested in the legislature, and all the business with which the state is concerned is supported by the exercise of this power. The raising of revenues by means of taxes is perhaps the most important function of the legislature, for without money most governmental activities would cease. The chief sources of revenue in this state are taxes on corporations, on inheritances, on transfers of stock, on mortgages, and on the sale of intoxicants. In recent years there has been no direct property tax levied by the state, but it is probable that with the greatly increased cost of government that form of taxation will be restored.

The Governor

We have seen how laws are made. Let us now consider how they are enforced. At the head of the executive department is the governor. He must be at least thirty years of age, a citizen of the United States for the five years next preceding his election. He is chosen by the qualified electors of the state at the general election held in November of every even-numbered year and holds office for two years from the first day of the following January.

His Administrative Duties. As the chief executive officer of the state his duties are varied. He is the commander in chief of the militia of the state and may call out the state forces in order to maintain order. He is also empowered by the Federal constitution to call upon the United States for aid in suppressing domestic violence. He directs the necessary business of the state and sees that the laws are enforced. This is done through the administrative agencies of the state government, which are controlled by him or through executive orders issued by him and sent to county or city officials.

His Legislative Powers. The Governor shares with the legislature in the responsibility for the enactment of laws. Through the annual and special messages which he sends to that body, he suggests desirable legislation. Through the budget which he presents for its consideration, he expresses his judgment as to the financial needs of the state. He may summon the legislature, or the senate, alone, to extraordinary sessions. But in his power to sign or veto bills he exercises the greatest of his legislative duties.

His Judicial Functions. In granting pardons, reprieves, and commutations of sentence, the governor has important judicial functions.

Other Administrative State Officers

Many other officers, boards, and commissions assist in the state's affairs. They are the managers of the state's business, which is wide and varied and requires the services of a large number of people. Five of these, the Comptroller, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer, the Attorney General, and the State Engineer and Surveyor, are elected by the people at the same time as the governor and for a term of two years.

The other officers and commissions are appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate and serve for various terms. The more important of these boards are the Public Service Commissions, the Conservation Commission, the State Board of Charities, the State Commissioner of Highways, of Health, and of Excise, the Superintendent of Banks and Insurance.

The Judiciary System of the State

The courts of this state have to deal with three distinct groups of cases, namely: the interpretation of law, civil cases, and criminal matters. The first is based upon questions affecting the constitutionality of laws passed by the legislature. The second is concerned with suits involving property or contract rights. The courts settle such disagreements between individuals or corporations. The third has to do with the apprehension and punishment of criminals. Crimes are offenses

against the commonwealth. To make the country safe for all of us, crimes must be punished. We therefore look to the courts for protection, and the judges, together with juries, in civil cases enforce our rights and in criminal cases guard the commonwealth and apply the penalties which the state has fixed for the violation of its laws.

Kinds and Jurisdiction of Courts

There are a series of courts for the trial of cases, extending from those presided over by justices of the peace in towns and municipal judges in cities, through the county court, the supreme court, the appellate division of the supreme court to the highest court in the state — the Court of Appeals.

The Justice Court. The lowest of these is the justice court in each town. This has jurisdiction in civil matters, where the amount involved is not more than \$200, and in petty criminal cases. The court is presided over by a Justice of the Peace, of whom there are four, elected at town meeting. The justice may issue warrants for the arrest of persons suspected of crime and bind them over to await the action of the grand jury.

The County Court. The jurisdiction of the county court is limited to the county, and in civil actions where the amount involved does not exceed \$2000. This court also tries the majority of criminal cases. The county judge is elected for a term of six years.

The Supreme Court. The next higher court is the supreme court, in which all the more important civil actions and the graver crimes against the laws of the state are tried. This court has both original and appellate jurisdiction. In other words certain matters have to originate here, while others are appealed to it from the lower courts. The state is divided into nine judicial districts and the judges are elected by the voters in their districts for a term of fourteen years.

The Court of Appeals. This court corresponds to the United States Supreme Court, except that it has only appellate juris-

diction. It is the most important judicial body in the state and is the court of last resort in all questions arising under the state law. It deals only with cases brought to it on appeal from the lower courts. Its purpose is to determine whether the law has been properly interpreted, and it does not examine into the facts found in the lower courts except in criminal cases where the penalty is death.

Through this elaborate system of courts the rights of the individual with respect to his person and his property are safeguarded. It is the duty of these courts to see that every person obtains justice, and they fail in that duty only when we who select the judges do not choose men of integrity for these offices of honor and of trust.

Local Governments

In order to bring government more closely to the people and to make its administration simpler and more direct, the state has been divided into counties and the counties again into towns and school districts.

The growth of cities and villages also has necessitated the establishment of separate forms of government to meet special needs. All of these units except the counties comprised within the limits of the city of New York have the three branches of government, — legislative, executive, and judicial.

How Organized. A county, city, or an incorporated village is created by an act of the State Legislature, but a town, as one of the subdivisions of a county, is formed by the board of supervisors of the county. In the early years of our existence as a state, many towns received their charters directly from the state and included in their boundaries the larger part of several of the present counties.

While cities, towns, and villages are separate units, they are a part of the county in which they exist, and the county government performs some of its functions in the cities and villages within its limits and the town government in the village.

The County. The state is divided into sixty-two counties, differing materially in size, population, and character. The five counties of Greater New York are distinctly city-counties, while Hamilton county in the Adirondacks is practically a wilderness.

The governing body of the county is the Board of Supervisors, and its functions are largely legislative. This body has charge of all county property, levies the taxes, and audits the accounts of the county. Each supervisor is also a town official.

The court affairs of the county are in the hands of the county judge. We have told in a former paragraph of the limitations of his power. With him is associated the sheriff, who is the chief executive officer of the county and whose principal duty is to keep the peace and to enforce the orders of the court.

There are many other county officers, such as the surrogate, to whom is intrusted the settlement of estates; the superintendent of the poor, who cares for the dependents of the county; and the county clerk, in whose office deeds, mortgages, and other legal papers are recorded.

It will be seen from the foregoing summary of the powers and duties of the county government that it is an important unit in our political life. Indeed the tendency in this state is to centralize in the county the management of many local affairs.

The Town. The form of government we have just described is a representative democracy. It is so called because the people govern themselves through the representatives whom they elect. The town, however, is a pure democracy; that is, in it the people govern themselves directly. At the town meeting the voters determine what sums shall be raised to meet the expenses of the town, consider all business which the laws of the state permit the town to transact, and elect from among their number men to carry on their business for them.

The City. Because so many people have settled in limited areas and thus created cities and villages, it has been necessary to give them a special form of government. For convenience in legislation the state constitution has divided the cities into

three classes: cities of the first class must have a population of 175,000 or more; the second class must have a population of more than 50,000 and less than 175,000; the third class includes all other cities.

The growth of population in recent years to a marked degree has been in the cities. This has made the administration of the business affairs of a city increasingly complex. A growing city is constantly being made over. It usually has a large percentage of people of foreign birth, community life is congested, the citizen has greater needs and demands more from his government. He is much more dependent upon government for the protection of his person and his property than are dwellers in rural communities. So, for the welfare of its citizens, the city establishes police and fire departments, provides for an adequate water supply and for disposal of sewage, maintains parks and recreation centers, grants franchises, cares for the streets, and regulates transportation. These are only a few of the functions of a city government. In his own city the pupil may ascertain others and so add to this list. He should also find out the titles and names of the principal city officials and classify each according to the legislative, executive, or judicial functions which he performs.

A few cities of the state, notably Buffalo and Niagara Falls, have introduced a new form of government in which the administration of the affairs of the city is centered in a commission, usually composed of five men. As a body they act as the city legislature; individually each member is at the head of one of the great departments of the city government.

This interesting experiment in municipal government is sometimes still more centralized through the appointment, by the commission, of a city-manager, who is the administrative head of the city government, and conducts its affairs just as the president of a business corporation manages the affairs of his corporation.

Our Educational System

We have a strongly centralized system of education. The University of the State of New York is composed of all educational institutions within the state, from the rural schools to the Universities. Its governing body is the Board of Regents, who determine its broad policies and administer them through a Commissioner of Education whom they elect. Universal free education, with compulsory attendance, gives every boy and girl equal opportunities. Through grants to colleges and through a system of University scholarships, worthy students are encouraged to gain a higher education. Nor do the activities of the University cease here. The professions are safeguarded through its licensing power and the State Library and Museum are in its care. The influence of this great institution and its services to the commonwealth are exceeded by no other agency of our government.

The Individual and the State

This then is the machinery, both state and local, by which we govern ourselves. We must not forget that each one of us is directly responsible not only *to* this government but, in an equal degree, *for* this government. It is our creation through our representatives who framed the constitution and through the men whom we select to make our laws. These laws are very close to us; they control even the intimate details of our daily life; therefore we must choose wisely the men to whom we intrust these great powers. The state is nothing without her citizens, and when the citizens work together for the common good, when they forget selfish interests in loyal service to the community and to the state, they fulfil the obligations of good citizenship and help to make the state a peaceful and prosperous place in which to live.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What is the state Constitution and how is it made?
2. Describe a visit to the state capital.
3. Tell how our laws are made.
4. Mention the more important powers and duties of the governor of this state.
5. Describe the judicial system of this state.
6. Distinguish between a pure democracy and a representative democracy and give an example of each in this state.
7. How is a city created? What are the three classes of cities? How does legislation affecting a city differ in process of making from that affecting a village?
8. What are some of the problems of city life?
9. If you live in a city or village find out what officers are responsible for the public business of the city or village. To whom are they responsible?
10. What are the advantages of the commission form of government for cities?
11. Mention some of the responsibilities of the state towards its citizens.
12. Mention some of the duties of the citizen toward the state.
13. From the New York "Red Book" make a list of the principal state officers and state boards. Indicate on this list the principal duties and powers of each.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Ashley: "The New Civics."
2. Boynton: "Actual Government of New York."
3. Guitteau: "Government and Politics in the United States."
4. Hughes: "Community Civics."
5. "The New York Red Book."



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